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ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES IN ADULT EDUCATION, A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING PRINCIPLES AND A METHOD FOR IMPROVING THEIR VALIDITY. PAPER PRESENTED AT THE NATIONAL SEMINAR ON ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH (CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 11-13, 1968).

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THE AUTHOR REVIEWS THE LITERATURE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF ADULT EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION AND SHOWS DEFICIENCIES WHICH POINT TO NEED FOR FOCUSING RESEARCH ON CERTAIN NEGLECTED ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES, FORMULATING PRINCIPLES ABOUT THE HUMAN RELATIONS ASPECT OF ADMINISTRATION, AND EXAMINING MORE CLOSELY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PRINCIPLES APPLY TO DIFFERING ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES. A MODEL FOR ANALYZING THE AGENCIES AND FORMULATING PRINCIPLES INVOLVES THREE FORMS OF AGENCY POWER (COERCIVE, REMUNERATIVE, AND NORMATIVE) ORDERED FROM ONE TO THREE, AND THREE TYPES OF STUDENT INVOLVEMENT (ALIENATIVE, CALCULATIVE, AND MORAL). LIKE ORDERS REPRESENT CONGRUENT COMPLIANCE. THE HYPOTHESIS IS THAT ORGANIZATIONS WITH CONGRUENT COMPLIANCE STRUCTURES ARE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN NONCONGRUENT ONES. THREE KINDS OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS (ORDER, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURE) ARE ALSO ORDERED. CONGRUENT COMBINATIONS OF COMPLIANCE AND GOALS WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN NONCONGRUENT ONES. THIS MODEL APPLIED TO TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDES EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS THAT ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES MAY BE VALID FOR ONE TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BUT NOT FOR ANOTHER. CASE STUDIES COULD PROVIDE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO DETERMINE COMPLIANCE STRUCTURES OF VARIOUS TYPES OF AGENCIES. LACK OF SUCH DATA MAKES FURTHER TESTING OF THE MODEL DIFFICULT. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE NATIONAL SEMINAR ON ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH, CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 11-13, 1968. (RT)

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ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES IN ADULT EDUCATION: A CRITIQUE OF EXISTING PRINCIPLES AND A METHOD FOR IMPROVING THEIR VALIDITY*

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Introduction

The ultimate aim of this paper is to improve the effectiveness of adult education administrators to achieve their goals. With respect to this aim, it is pointless to argue whether adult education agencies, in general, are conducting their operations in an effective, or ineffective manner. To do so would require a set of agreed-upon criteria and valid evidence for each criterion. Neither of these conditions exist at present. The assumption is made that any effort would be worthwhile if it leads to a better understanding of what it takes to administer an effective adult education agency.

Two procedures will be used to achieve the purpose of this paper. First, Part I of this paper contains a description and analysis of the principle of administration in order to determine where gaps exist in the body of knowledge on administration. Second, in Part II, a method of analyzing adult education agencies will be presented that is considered useful for the formulation of principles about the administration of these agencies. Application will be made of this model to demonstrate its use in the study of the administration of adult education agencies.

PART I

The Kinds of Principles on Administration Found in the Literature of Adult Education and the Amount of Attention Given to Them

A considerable portion of the literature about adult education has either directly or indirectly sought to formulate principles[1] which could

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[1]A principle is defined as a statement about the relationship of two concepts. For a detailed discussion of these terms see Bernard A. Phillips, Social Research (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966) Chapter 2.

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be applied by practitioners to their work. The principles which have the most relevance for the practitioners in adult education are those dealing with the administrative process and the teaching process. Verner has defined these two roles using the concept of program, which he defines as ". . . a series of learning experiences designed to achieve, in a specific period of time, certain specific instructional objectives for an adult or a group of adults."[1] The administrative role "carries the responsibility for organizing, financing, and managing the variety of programs conducted by a given institution." The teaching role ". . . involves the design and management of a single program through the control of a learning situation to achieve specific learning objectives."[2] As stated previously, only the administrative process will be of concern here. Hence, the numerous references in the literature to teaching principles will be omitted.

A General Definition of Administration

Since many definitions of administration exist, the one used in this paper will be made explicit. Administration is defined as ". . . the complex process through which administrators try to guide the activities of people in an organization toward formulating or achieving some accepted pattern of purposes."[3] When the efforts to formulate and achieve these purposes are blocked, administrators attempt to cope with the problem ". . . through the development, maintenance and use of power, or influence,

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[1]Coolie Verner, "Definition of Terms," Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study (eds.) Jensen, Gale, A. A. Liveright and Wilbur Hallenbeck (Adult Education Association, 1964), p. 34.

[2]Ibid., p. 38. Verner believes the term "teacher' does not fully encompass the functions served by the adult education practitioner in this second role.

[3]Bertram Gross, The Managing of Organization (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), p. 244.

with varying degrees of authority and responsibility."[1] The emphasis in this discussion is on the administrator as one who guides the behavior of others. In Gross' terms, ". . . administration involves people. In administration things are not merely done. 'Administrators try to guide the activities of people.'"[2]

A Scheme For Classifying Principles Of Administration

A classification scheme for facilitating the task of describing and analyzing the principles appearing in literature on adult education has been formulated. It is based on the procedures identified by Gross as those used by administrators in dealing with persons within and without the organization.[3]

1. Decision-making
2. Communicating
3. Planning
4. Activating
5. Control
6. . . . various technical administrative processes relating to production, budgeting and accounting, personnel, distribution of output, general internal services or research. In adult education, the various principles of program planning would be added to this category.

These processes constitute the "content" categories that will be used for classifying administrative principles.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 244.

[2] Ibid., p. 245.

[3] Ibid., p. 244.

[4] An exhaustive description of the literature will not be attempted. Rather, illustrative works in book form will be described which, in the author's judgement, have had either the most influence, or contain the most thoughtful statement, on administrative practice. Because this procedure will omit several valuable contributions, a thorough analysis of the literature using this, or some other classification scheme, would be a worthwhile study to undertake.

Principles that appear in the literature will also be classed on the basis of the extent of their intended applicability; i.e., whether the principle applies to adult education agencies in all types of organizations, such as public schools, business and industry, and the church; or only to a single type of organization.

A third way in which these principles are classified is on the basis of whether they deal with formal aspects of organizations or with the "human relations" features of administration.

The first category, decision-making, is a difficult one to use for the following reason. All studies probably have some implication for the decisions an administrator has to make. For as Gross observes, "decision-making is one of the major activities through which administrators seek to achieve rational action by organization . . . it enters into all other administrative processes."[1] For the purpose of this analysis however, only those studies which deal directly and explicitly with the decision-making process will be included in this category.

The studies of Daigneault[2] and Essert[3] are the only two which meet the foregoing limitations.

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[1]Gross, op. cit., p. 759.

[2]George Daigneault, Decision Making in the University Evening College (Brookline, Mass.: Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults, 1963).

[3]Paul L. Essert, "Concepts of the Organization and Administration of the Adult Education Enterprise," in Jensen, et al., op. cit., Chapter 10.

Major studies on the communication process within adult education have yet to be conducted.[1]

Principles in the planning[2] category, which includes the function of establishing goals, have been formulated in several studies, including those of Houle, Burr, Hamilton, and Yale,[3] Carey,[4] Petersen and Petersen,[5] Sheats, Jayne, and Spence,[6] Griffith,[7] Thatcher,[8] Clark,[9] Jensen, Liveright and Hallenbeck,[10] and Knowles.[11]

Principles about the process of activating, which involves the techniques of getting others to carry out plans, such as persuasion, pressuring, and leadership, have received little attention outside of the Cooperative

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[1]The communication process itself has, of course, been studied extensively. But since effective communication depends in part on situational factors, analysis of this process within adult education agencies would appear to be fruitful.

[2]"Administrative planning is purposeful action to develop purposefulness." Gross, op. cit., p. 774.

[3]Cyril O. Houle, Elbert W. Burr, Thomas H. Hamilton, and John R. Yale, The Armed Services and Adult Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1947).

[4]James Carey, Forms and Forces in University Adult Education (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961).

[5]Renee Petersen and William Petersen, University Adult Education: A Guide to Policy (New York: Harper, 1960).

[6]Paul H. Sheats, Clarence D. Jayne, and Ralph B. Spence, Adult Education: The Community Approach (New York: Dryden Press, 1953).

[7]William S. Griffith, A Growth Model of Institutions of Adult Education (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Chicago, 1963).

[8]John H. Thatcher (ed.), Public School Adult Education: A Guide for Administrators (Revised Edition) (Washington, D.C., National Association of Public School Adult Educators, 1963).

[9]Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).

[10]Gale Jensen, A. A. Liveright, Wilbur Hallenbeck, Adult Education: Outlines of An Emerging Field of Study (Washington, D.C.: Adult Education Association of U.S.A., 1964).

[11]Malcolm Knowles, Informal Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1950).

Extension Service. Here, the numerous studies about the adoption process are relevant. A few writers, Verner and Booth,[1] Houle,[2] Carey,[3] and Clark[4] have touched briefly on this kind of principle for other agencies of adult education.

The category of "controlling"[5] has not been examined extensively within adult education agencies. A reminder is in order here not to confuse the kind of "control" or change in action, a teacher, or change agent, in an adult education agency attempts to bring about in his clientele. Control within organizations-the adult education agency-is the focus of concern, or the problem of adjusting ineffective administrative practices through such means as recruiting new personnel, acquiring new resources, or changing plans.

An example of the type of study that would provide principles in the "controlling" category is that of Whyte.[6]

Rivaling the extensive effort to formulate principles dealing with planning has been that in studies about the various technical processes.

For adult education, these processes include: recruitment of students, evaluation, financing, identifying objectives, and counseling.

Principles in this category may be found in almost all of the literature cited previously. The only additions to be made here, primarily because

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[1]Verner and Booth, op. cit.

[2]Houle, op. cit.

[3]Carey, op. cit.

[4]Clark, op. cit.

[5]Gross uses the term "evaluation" to complete his list of basic administrative processes, and views evaluation as a basis for control efforts that are required to correct ineffective means. See Gross, op. cit., p. 794.

[6]William Whyte and Edith Lentz Hamilton, Action Research For Management (Homewood, Ill.: R. D. Irwin , 1964).

they are indicative of the early interest with principles in this category, are those of Bryson[1] and Debatin.[2] Both of these authors considered the principles they stated applicable to adult education agencies in all types of organizations. Debatin asserted that ". . . there is no fixed group of persons to whom these pages are addressed." He added that "the basic approaches . . . should have universal significance."[3]

In summary, principles about decision-making, communication, activating and controlling have had relatively little attention while principles about planning and technical processes have been the subject of considerable effort.

One explanation for this state of affairs is the fact that adult educators have been concerned primarily with what to do (Planning) and techniques for actually conducting the functions of program development. The latter situation, in turn, has resulted from the necessity, because of small or non-existent staffs, of those who hold administrative positions to do the work themselves, rather than to guide the activities of others.

Two reasons combine to suggest that greater emphasis be placed on this "guiding" role of administrators in adult education. First, staffs in adult education agencies are getting larger.[4] The prospects are that if the number of adults enrolled in adult education increases as predicted,[5]

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[1]Lyman Bryson, Adult Education (New York: American Book Company, 1936).

[2]Frank M. Debatin, Administration of Adult Education (New York: American Book Company, 1938).

[3]Ibid., p. 229.

[4]This statement is made on the basis of personal observation and not on any systematic study.

[5]John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 19.

staff size will continue to increase. Second, if the concept of "administration" is extended to include "external administration,"[1] the adult educator must become competent in guiding the activities of those who, while not members of his organization, play an important role in the achievement of organizational purposes.

Principles dealing with the structural, or formal organization, aspects of administration have been given more emphasis than those related to human relations. An example of the former is: "the organization and administration of adult education should be kept, as far as possible, under local control, and initiative and the development of aspects of the program, uniquely suited to local conditions, encouraged."[2] Principles dealing with the human relations aspect of administration are illustrated in the list of characteristics of good administrators described in Thatcher.[3]

The final conclusion resulting from this analysis of the principles of adult education is that some are intended to apply to adult education agencies in all types of organizations while other principles are limited to single agencies. An example of the former is Houle,[4] and the latter, Carey.[5]

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[1]For a discussion of "external administration" see Luvern L. Cunningham, Research in External Administration, What Do We Know?", Administrative Theory as a Guide to Action (eds.) Roald F. Campbell and James M. Lapham (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, The University of Chicago, 1960).

[2]Houle, op. cit., p. 236.

[3]Thatcher (ed.), op. cit., p. 20. In passing, it would seem that such principles would be more useful if they indicated what functions of the administrator, such as decision making, planning, etc. would be enhanced if these characteristics were present.

[4]Houle, op. cit.

[5]Carey, op. cit.

[redacted] There is a tendency in some of the literature to present a given principle as if it were applicable to adult education agencies in all types of organizations. The propensity of the administrator to construe principles in this fashion is created by such statements as the following by Debatin: ". . . there is no fixed group of persons to whom these pages are addressed."[1] He adds "the basic approaches . . . should have universal significance."[2]

A similar idea is expressed by Houle.

> It is in the area of administration and organization that the Navy and Army programs have generally been thought to be least like civilian agencies and activities. While the armed services do have rigid and clearly defined systems of control, certain principles did appear in military experience which bear out or have additional values for civilian practice.[3]

Literature bearing titles which suggest that "adult education" is a relatively homogeneous body of knowledge and practice possibly provides an additional reason for the tendency to believe that a principle resulting from observations in one agency would be applicable to all others. Examples of such titles are Adult Education[4] (the title of at least four books), A Philosophy of Adult Education[5] and The Adult Education Movement in the United States.[6]

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[1]Debatin, op. cit., p. vii.

[2]Ibid., p. 229.

[3]Houle, et al., pp. 235-36.

[4]Lyman Bryson, op. cit.; Sheats, Jayne, and Spence, op. cit.; Verner and Booth, op. cit.; Homer Kempfer, Adult Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955).

[5]Paul Bergevin, A Philosophy of Adult Education (New York: Seabury Press, 1967).

[6]Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

Summary

Summarizing this analysis of the principles about the administrative process in adult education found in the literature, the major criticisms are:

1. little attention has been given to principles in the content areas of:

   a. decision-making
   b. communicating
   c. activating
   d. controlling

2. where attention has been given; that is, in the content areas of planning and technical processes, the formulation of principles involving the human relations aspect of administration have received relatively little attention compared to those related to structural arrangements

3. principles formulated from observations of one agency have been treated, by implication or explicitly, as if they were applicable to agencies of adult education in all types of organizations.

The identification of these three deficiencies in the present status of principles about the administration of adult education may contribute to the following beneficial action.

First, researchers may see a need to focus efforts on the formulation of principles for those administrative processes that have been neglected.

Second, more concern may be given to the human relations aspect of administration, and

Third, an effort may be made by researchers to examine more closely the principles they formulate in order to determine the extent to which they apply to various adult education agencies in various types of organizations.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, the next part of this paper will attempt to describe a method of studying the administrative process in adult education that will provide a means of dealing with these three deficiencies.

Part II

A METHOD FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

The method for the study of the administrative process to be described utilizes a model developed by Etzioni.[1] Three elements of his work provide a possible basis for alleviating the three deficiencies in the body of principles about adult education discussed in Part of this paper. These elements are: 1) the concept of "middle range" theory, 2) the articulation of the structural and motivational (human relations) aspects of administration, and, 3) the model for a comparative analysis of organizations. The relationship of each of these to the three deficiencies will be discussed, with the third element, the model, being given major attention.

Etzioni describes middle range theory as falling "between high-level abstractions about the characteristics of organizations in general and detailed observations about single cases."[2]

The analysis of principles about adult education reveals that they fall into these two categories.[3]

One difficulty resulting from case studies of organizations is that they ". . . close with some universal statements about organizational variables 'based' on the study of one organization. Researchers are often lured into such overgeneralizations for lack of a middle-range theory which would allow the formulation of specific statements--that is, statements concerning subcategories of organizations."[4]

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[1]Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

[2]Ibid., p. xi.

[3]Examples are Essert, op. cit. and Thatcher, op. cit.

[4]Ibid., p. xiii.

Thus, while the lack of principles about certain administrative processes, such as decision-making, will not be dealt with directly in this paper, it is suggested that efforts to do so will be more fruitful if they are guided by the "middle-range" theory idea.

The second deficiency identified in Part I, the relative inattention given to principles about human relations, may be overcome through use of the proposed method for analyzing organizations simply because it combines the structural and human relations aspects of administration. Principles which are based on the model to be discussed will consider these two components of organizational life simultaneously. This is accomplished through the use in the model of the concept of "compliance" which refers to both the kinds and distribution of power in organizations (the structural aspects) and the differential commitments of members to the organization (the motivational aspects).

Solutions to the first two deficiencies depend in part on the utility of the model for the comparative study of adult education. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to a description of the model and a demonstration of its utility for adult education.

Adult Education: A Sub-Unit of Parent Organizations

The practice of adult education in the United States is conducted by various types of organizations. Those operating the largest of these in terms of the number of persons enrolled are the churches and synagogues, colleges and universities, public schools, government agencies, private schools, community organizations, business and industry, and the armed forces.[1] Together,

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[1]John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 61.

these organizations account for approximately 82% of all persons who were enrolled in adult education courses on a part-time basis during the one-year period from June, 1961 to June, 1962.[1]

The effectiveness of these programs is increased through the application of tested principles which provide a basis for the actions taken by the practitioners. The thesis to be presented and examined in this paper is that a principle about administrative behavior in adult education may be valid for the adult education unit in one type of organization, but not valid for the adult education unit in a different type of organization. Thus, the statement of a principle must be qualified in terms of the type of organization to which it applies.[2] The significance of this thesis is derived from its implications for improving the effectiveness with which adult education units pursue their objectives.

That these principles may not be applicable to all types of organizations is suggested by Thomas in observing that "the fact that such programs [those in which adult education is a means to some end, as in the case of a manufacturing concern] deal with members or employees rather than students has an important effect upon their nature; not only is the motivation quite different, but teaching practices, methods of finance, and planning procedures differ as well. Sharp differences in philosophy exist among these agencies and programs. The cadres of planners or administrators that have grown up in the system tend to develop different experience, which to date has not been and is not being satisfactorily shared in the field of other

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[1] Ibid., pp. 34 and 61.

[2] Essert makes the same point when he observes that ". . . the system unit of adult education is dependent upon the system [parent organization] and its administrative superordinate structure." See Essert, op. cit., p. 178.

adult education."[1] It is these differences between organization which may be explained by an analysis of the characteristics of organization rather than the characteristic of "adult education" as some general process.

Two examples of different administrative practices will be given to illustrate the point that the same principle may be irrelevant for the adult education unit operated by one type of organization and irrelevant for another type. The example involves the problem of drop-outs, which is a major concern to the administrators of the adult education units in the public schools. It has been found that teachers with certain qualities have fewer drop-outs than teachers without these qualities. Thus, the administrator is guided in his selection of teachers by the principle that teachers in adult education who possess characteristic Y will have fewer drop-outs.

However, this principle has no relevance for administrators of adult education units in business and industry simply because the administrators of these units are not confronted with the drop-out problem. Hence, teachers would not be selected on the basis of this characteristic. Thus, to be valid, the principle should read, "Teachers in public school adult education (or more generally, in organizations of this type) who possess characteristic Y will have fewer drop-outs."

A second example illustrating the major point of this paper is the procedure by which the objectives of a program are selected. One widely-expressed, if not observed, principle is that administrators in public school adult education units should base their objectives on community needs.

In contrast, the adult education administrator in one industrial company uses the following principle: "Departmental management, together with an educational specialist, must ultimately determine the course that will be made available."

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[1]Alan Thomas, "The Concept of Program," Adult Education: Outlines of An Emerging Field of Graduate Study, Gale Jensen et al., op. cit., p. 254.

Conceptual Note

Explanations for these differences stem not from logical arguments or empirical characteristics of the teaching-learning process dealing with adults. They may, however, be explained by an analysis of the different types of organizations involved. This assertion should not be too surprising because the principles with which we are dealing relate to administrative behavior, which in turn, is in part shaped by the nature of the organization in which that behavior occurs, a position supported by Shartle's view that "in the study of administrative behavior it seems important to consider the environmental setting in which the administrator works . . ."[1]

The Analytical Model

Various schemes for analyzing organizations have been devised. The one to be used to examine the thesis proposed in this study is the analytical model developed by Etzioni.[2]

The model described by Etzioni provides a means for explaining variations in the administrative processes used by adult education units as it is conducted in different types of organizations. Selection of this particular model was based on the following factors: 1) the model provides a means of making a comparative analysis of organizations. Since a variety of organizations conduct adult education programs, this type of model would appear highly relevant to the task of explaining variations among adult education units in various organizational settings; 2) the model deals with the relationship between the organization and its lower participants. These are the two principle components of the adult education process for the purposes

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[1]Caroll L. Shartle, "A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Behavior in Organizations," Administrative Theory in Education (ed.) Andrew W. Halpin (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, The University of Chicago, 1958), p. 73.

[2]Etzioni, op. cit.

of this study;[1] the organization on the one hand and the student, or lower participant,[2] on the other; 3) the model is, in Etzioni's terms, an "effectiveness model." As such, it "defines a pattern of interrelations among the elements of the system which makes it most effective in the service of a given goal."[3] It is expected that an analysis of the adult education process with this model may result in implications for improving the effectiveness of this process, a concern expressed previously in this paper. This could conceivably come about if it can be demonstrated that certain goals are most effectively achieved under certain conditions described in terms of the model.

The Model Defined

The fundamental concept around which the model is developed is that of compliance, which "refers both to a relationship in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power, and to the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied."[4]

For our purpose, the actor with power, the representative of the organization, is the administrator and the "subordinated" actor is the "student." In order to dispel any adverse reaction by the reader to terms like "power" and "subordinated," an effort will be made to extract their emotional

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[1]The concern here is with the adult education process as it is conducted by organizations. The large number of adults who are engaged in self-education are, by definition, excluded since they are not participating in organization-sponsored adult education.

[2]Although management personnel are not "lower participants" in the business organization's formal hierarchy, they are "lower participants" with respect to their role as a student when they enroll in company-sponsored educational program.

[3]Ibid., p. 78.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

content. "Power" is "the ability to influence behavior." It is assumed that any student would want to have a teacher who had the "power," or ability, to influence, a change in his behavior. If the student learned a new skill, some new facts, or different attitudes, he would have changed and we would say that the teacher exercised his power by influencing this change in the student. Another way of stating the issue is to say that "a person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behavior of others in accordance with his own intentions."[1] "His own intentions" could be to influence a person to follow others' intentions, or according to the desires of the person acted upon, as is the case with a patient when he visits a doctor.

Adult education by definition is a process designed to effect change in the participant's behavior. In organized forms of adult education, it is the organization's intent to influence this change; that is, to provide an experience designed to influence the participants. Thus, organizations engaged in the adult education process, like any organization, must exercise power if they are to achieve their organizational goals. Here again, the organizational goal may be "to help student's learn what they want to learn" within rather broad limits. Clark, for example, has noted that for the public school adult programs in California the "students, or potential students make the decision whether the course will be instituted."[2]

The term "subordinated" does not necessarily carry the connotation of "inferior." Adult educators, especially those of the group-discussion persuasion, are appropriately sensitive to the leader (teacher)-student relationship. Everyone involved in the activity is equal as "learners." But

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[1]H. Goldhamer and E. A. Shils, "Types of Power and Status," American Journal of Sociology, 1939, 45: 171-182. Quoted in Etzioni, op. cit., p.4.

[2]Clark, op. cit., p. 80.

even here an act of subordination must take place among the participants. They at least have to subordinate their desire to speak at length to the needs of the group. It is the leader, as the representative of the group, who must police the individual participant's behavior. Because adult education is voluntary, the act of subordination is the choice of the participant. He makes a choice to become a recipient of the services of the organization's adult education program and to follow certain prescribed codes of behavior. In this sense, he becomes "subordinated."

A Specification of the Concepts Which Make Up the Model

This section summarizes the essential concepts and propositions related to the compliance structure model.[1] How they may be applied to an analysis of adult education practices will be described in a later section.

The two main components of the compliance structure of an organization are power and involvement; power of the organization to influence the participants and involvement of the participant in the organization.

Different Forms of Power

The means used to exercise power are coercive, remunerative, and normative. These are defined as:

> Coercive power rests on the application, or the threat of application, of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity or death; generation of frustration through restriction of movement; or controlling through force the satisfaction of needs such as those for food, sex, comfort and the like.
>
> Remunerative power is based on control over material resources and rewards through allocation of salaries, wages, commissions and contributions, "fringe benefits," services and commodities.
>
> Normative power rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations through employment of leaders, manipulation of mass media, allocation of esteem and prestige symbols, administration of ritual, and influence over the distribution of acceptance and positive response.[2]

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[1] For a more complete description, see Etzioni, op. cit., Part I.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

Normative power consists of two sub-types; pure normative power which refers to that power exercised between the strata of an organization, and social power, which is the power exercised by a group over one of its members.

Types of Involvement

Involvement on the part of the participant refers to the "cathectic-evaluative orientation of an actor to an object, characterized in terms of intensity and direction."[1] When involvement is positive, it is referred to as "commitment," when negative, it is termed "alienation." The involvement continuum contains three points; alienative, moral, and calculative. These are defined by Etzioni[2] as follows:

> 1) Alienative involvement refers to an intense negative orientation towards the organization. Inmates of prisons is an example of this type of involvement.
>
> 2) Calculative involvement is an orientation of low intensity, either negative or positive. Employees in industry and relations with permanent customers illustrate this type of involvement.
>
> 3) Moral involvement denotes positive orientation of high intensity. This form of involvement is demonstrated by the involvement of the doctor to his profession, the communicant to his church, and the devoted student to his studies.

A further refinement of moral involvement consists of the pure and social varieties. They parallel the pure and social forms of normative power. Pure moral involvement is based on internalization of norms and id identification with authority. Social involvement takes place when the codes of behavior of primary groups shape one's attitudes. The relationship between student and teacher, priest and parishoner may develop into the pure moral type. Social involvement tends to develop among members of the same group, such as a family unit.

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

A Typology of Compliance:

Organizations can be placed in one of nine cells made up of a combination of the two components of the compliance structure; the power exercised by the organization on lower participants and the type of involvement they have with the organization.[1]

Kinds of Involvement

Kinds of Power	Alienative	Calculative	Moral
Coercive	1	2	3
Remunerative	4	5	6
Normative	7	8	9

Congruent types are defined as a combination of the same forms of power and involvement. Thus, cells 1, 5, and 9 are described as congruent. The importance of congruency is that organizations with congruent compliance structures are expected to be more effective than noncongruent ones. A hypothesis derived from this proposition is that, ". . . to the degree that the environment of the organization allows, organizations tend to shift their compliance structure from incongruent to congruent types and organizations which have congruent compliance structures tend to resist factors pushing them toward incongruent compliance structures."[2]

Compliance, Organizational Goals, and Effectiveness

Organizational goals are classed as: order, economic, and culture goals.[3] Illustrative of the goals sought by different organizations are: order goals by prisons; economic goals by business establishments; and culture

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[1] Ibid., p. 12.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.

goals by schools and churches. Combining goals and compliance yields the following typology:[1]

	Goals		
Compliance	Order	Economic	Culture
Coercive	1	2	3
Utilitarian	4	5	6
Normative	7	8	9

A large majority of organizations are found in cells 1, 5, and 9. Some organizations conducting adult education, such as a proprietary school, would be placed in cell No. 6. Examples of the kinds of institutions found in cells 1, 5, and 9 are prisons, industries, and churches and schools, respectively. Organizations that have similar goals tend to have similar compliance structures and, conversely.

Organizational Effectiveness

The three congruent combinations of goals and compliance (cells No. 1, 5, and 9) are more effective than the other six combinations.[2] More specifically, "In the six ineffective types we would expect to find not only wasted means, psychological and social tension, lack of coordination, and other signs of ineffectiveness, but also a strain toward an effective type."[3]

Environmental factors may impede the movement toward an effective compliance goal combination by their effect upon any one of the three major elements making up the relationship; involvement, power, and goals. These factors include:

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[1] Ibid., p. 74.

[2] Ibid., p. 77.

[3] Ibid., p. 87.

> Involvement. . . is determined in part by such external factors as membership in other systems, previous value commitments of the participants, and basic personality structure.
>
> Kinds of Power an organization can employ depend, among other things, on the resources it can command and the social license it can attain.
>
> Organizational goals are determined in part by the values of the social environment, and changes in the goals which organizationscan initiate or introduce are limited by the constraints set by this environment.[1]

Application of the Model to an Analysis of Administrative Principles in Adult Education Units in Two Types of Organizations

Previously in this paper, differences in the administrative principles guiding the selection of program objectives were pointed out. In the case of a public school, an organization with Normative-Moral, compliance structure, the principle that the adult educator operates on is to find out what type of educational program the public, or more accurately the potential clientele, want. The administrator of the adult education unit adopts what Clark has called a "catering relationship to its clientele."[2] The compliance structure of the adult education unit itself in the public school is mixed, depending on the type of program in which the student is enrolled and must be empirically determined. The kind of power the adult education unit may exercise is, in the case of a credit course leading either to a diploma, or immediate job opportunity or advancement, a combination of Normative and Remunerative types (Remunerative power is exercised through the awarding of grades and academic credits which have potential "currency.") But the organizations power, both Normative and Remunerative is relatively weak. It can not keep the student in the class if he doesn't wish to remain. The adult unit would like very much to be able to retain the student because

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[1] Ibid., p. 87.

[2] Clark, op. cit., p. 85.

it becomes impossible for this unit to achieve its goals ("to give such education as will enable them [the public] to meet problems that exist now.") and to maintain its viability unless class attendance is maintained at certain prescribed levels. Student attendance is the basis for determining the income to the adult education unit in states where tax money is supplied.

With respect to the other part of the compliance structure, involvement, the student may be committed to the idea of learning--a Moral involvement, or, as is more likely the case, his involvement will be Calculative.[1] But education (or more precisely, changes in knowledge, skills, or attitudes) is not itself a material reward, and, at best, credits only may lead to a diploma, which in turn may lead to a good, or better, job, a somewhat distant goal. Consequently, the involvement is probably weak for the majority of participants--as indicated by the high drop-out rate.[2] This argument is further supported by the even higher drop-out rates found among participants in the adult basic education programs conducted by the public schools. Here, the Calculative involvement is weaker than among persons with higher levels of education since the "material" aspects of the rewards are even more remote, psychologically, for the illiterate. Because the involvement of the student is weak, with the result that the student may withdraw easily, the administrator is forced to recognize that ". . . the relationship of the adult school organization to its clientele apprcaches that of the customer-business relationship in which the customer is usually right. The customer can come or go. . . "[3] (The intensity of involvement of customers with an organization,

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[1]This conclusion is based on the evidence that most participants in public school adult education are enrolled in vocational courses. See Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 65.

[2]Gary Dickinson and Coolie Verner, "Attendance Patterns and Dropouts in Adult Night School Classes," Journal of Adult Education, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 24-53.

[3]Clark, op. cit., p. 85.

according to Etzioni, is low.)[1] This means that "the lay-side of the layman-educator relationship has a pervasive influence. . . The rise of the student body to a position of dominance over professionals in influence on program content is a central, defining characteristic of the adult school."[2] Hence, the principle upon which the administrator of the adult education unit in the public school bases his practice for selecting objectives would appear to be a valid one.

The public schools attempt to exercise some Normative power by stating such Cultural goals as "helping the adult lead a richer and fuller life," "gain self-fulfillment" and other "desirable" states of existence. But it is probably the case that few of the participants commit themselves to these goals through moral involvement; i.e., they do not internalize these norms.[3]

Given the stated goals of the adult education unit, i.e., "adult education stems directly from the people," (Culture goal), this compliance-goal structure would appear to be a congruent one (Normative-Culture). But, the power-involvement relationship is primarily Normative-Calculative. This is an incongruent relationship and should lead to strain in the organization. This strain is indeed present, and periodically manifests itself in action by legislatures to force (usually by budget cuts) the adult education unit to purge its program of those courses that have no social (cultural) significance, like cake decorating, but which were satisfying customer demand (Calculative involvement).[4]

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[1]Etzioni, op. cit., p. 20.

[2]Clark, op. cit., p. 86.

[3]The fact that the public school has a Normative-Moral compliance structure and culture goals may account in part for the tensions that exist in many schools between the day principal and the director of the adult education unit.

[4]Ibid., pp. 125-26.

The principle for guiding the selection of objectives in adult education programs in industry have a completely different selection dynamic from that in public schools as disclosed by the following statement:

> Departmental management, together with an educational specialist, must ultimately determine the course that will be made available. Their determination will be based upon the long range plans of the operating component and upon the existing technical competence. Therefore, when you are about to make a choice of courses, discuss them with your manager so that he can help you to integrate your interest with the objectives of your Department.[1]

The congruent compliance structure, Remunerative-Calculative, in the business organization enables the adult education unit to specify the content of its programs while its counterpart in the public school, having an incongruent compliance structure, is unable to do so.

This principle is valid for the adult education unit in this type of organization because of the compliance structure involved. The adult education unit in business is a means for helping to achieve organizational goals. Consequently, this unit is able to draw upon the total organization's substantial Remunerative power relationship with the employee (student). The student, in turn, has a high Calculative involvement because the education experience has a direct and immediate reward.[2]

In view of this strong Calculative involvement, it would be expected that the student would find withdrawal from the program more difficult--an expectation supported by the evidence.[3]

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[1] Opportunities for Self-Development, 1960-61 (Schenectady: General Electric Co.), p. 3.

[2] Employees enrolled in company-sponsored courses state that they devote more effort to their studies than they did in college because "now we are playing for keeps." See Harold F. Clark, and Harold S. Sloan, Classrooms in the Factories (Rutherford, N. J., Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1958), p. 10

[3] Although no empirical evidence can be cited to directly support this assertion, a search of the subject index of the Training Directors Journal, published by the American Society of Training Directors, for the five-year period 1962-66, inclusive, did not yield a single article dealing with the subject of "drop-outs." On the contrary, one article treated the problem of what to do with the "shanghaied" student who attends because his supervisor told him to.

Using student attendance as a criterion, the adult education unit in business is more effective than that of the public school.[1] This difference in effectiveness is explained by the analysis of the compliance structure of the two organizations. The compliance-goal structure of the former is congruent (Utilitarian, Economic) while the public school adult education unit compliance structure is incongruent (Normative, Culture-Economic). This evidence would appear to support Etzioni's hypothesis that congruent types (compliance-goals) are more effective than incongruent types.

In summary, two principles dealing with the same administrative process, the selection of objectives, in two different types of organizations were analyzed using Etzioni's compliance model. The analysis provides evidence to support the hypothesis that administrative principles may be valid for one type of organization but not for another. The validity of the principle is dependent upon the compliance structure of the organization.

As a by-product of this analysis, evidence was obtained which supported the hypothesis by Etzioni that congruent combinations of compliance and goals will be more effective than incongruent combinations.

A Concluding Note

A major difficulty confronting further testing of this model is the lack of data about various types of adult education agencies. Brunner, et al. noted this condition by their observation that:

> In few, if any, areas of adult education has there been less definitive research than in its organization and administration. Much of what has been done consists of purely descriptive data such as faculty status, title, salary and size of staff of directors of adult education in public schools, evening colleges or university extension.[2]

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[1]It is of interest to speculate on the development of Job Corps Centers for training young people in job skills. Is it that a congruent compliance-goal structure, Utilitarian-Economic, will be more effective than the Normative-Culture structure of the public schools in this effort?

[2]Edmund deS. Brunner, David S. Wilder, Carinne Kirchner, and John S. Newberry, Jr., An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959), pp. 119-20.

The data obtained by Clark[1] in his study of a public school adult education unit appears to be a prototype of the type of study that will yield the most useful data for the development and testing of principles about the administration of adult education.

A further requirement for comparative studies of adult education agencies is a typology of the compliance structure of these agencies in their various organizational settings. Here again, the case study method used by Clark provides the information necessary to determine empirically the compliance structure of these agencies.

General Implications

The relationship between compliance and several other organizational variables is examined by Etzioni[2] in his study. Among these variables are recruitment, organizational elites and peer cohesiveness. The analysis of these and other variables which influence administrative behavior in the adult education unit would provide a valuable addition to the developing body of knowledge, or principles, of adult education as it is conducted within particular types of organizations. These principles will have greater validity if they take into account the differences between organizations in their compliance structures.

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[1]Clark, op. cit.

[2]Etzioni, op. cit.

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